

Decision concerning the duty of the Party and the present political situation as seen from the Central Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party (Dec. 25, 1935).

The National Defense Government and the Anti-Japanese United Army.

The organization of the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese Unified Army are two of the most popular and most excellent ones of all the anti-Japanese and anti-traitors people's fronts. There are some elements who do not agree with the Soviet system and the land reform, but concur with the anti-Japanese and anti-traitors movements. Due to the disagreement of politics and economics, the state of local spheres of influence exists and the Chinese Soviet Government has succeeded only in some limited regions of China, and the people's anti-revolutionary movement by betrayers and traitors has been carried on solely by the aid of Japanese Imperialism. These facts that the organization of the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese United Army is not only possible but is of acute necessity. The methods adopted by the Chinese in their anti-Japanese and anti-traitors movements are various. The extent of self-consciousness of the element participating in the anti-Japanese movement are also different. The Communists should avail themselves of every opportunity to provoke strifes of various sorts.

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and lead them towards establishing the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese United Army. Every anti-Japanese and anti-traitors element, irrespective of the class, political faction, social group, or whatever named unit it may represent, should join in the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese United Army. National Defense Government is a political organization of the anti-Japanese and anti-traitors united front of all China and also is the unified leading organ of the anti-Japanese and anti-traitors people's revolutionary war. Viewed from the class consciousness, the National Defense Government is a federation of all classes having as their common object the anti-traitors movement.

In order to establish as soon as possible the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese United Army and let them expand and develop the fundamental rights of the race and its fighting power, the policy of the communists is not satisfied to leave the above matters with the anti-Japanese groups and the anti-Japanese armed units which have been in existence voluntarily in the past, but it goes forward to put them under a unified organization, supervise the members of these groups and thus to mobilize every and all patriotic elements out of various directions. In other words, patriotic groups, classes, parties, producers and merchants, culturists and educators, students and teaching staffs, the new and old schools, workmen and farmers



and the small propertied class, the bourgeoisie, towns and farm villages, and armed units, etc. are all to be mobilized; anti-Japanese and anti-traitor groups (such as anti-Japanese societies and anti-Japanese federations, etc.) are to be promoted;

and various anti-Japanese and anti-traitor armies (such as anti-Japanese voluntary armies, people's revolutionary armies, the new 19th Route Army etc.) as well as political powers (such as anti-Japanese Governments of Hsions and municipalities, people's revolutionary governments, etc.) are to be established.

When these groups, armies and political powers are combined into one and the power of the Soviet Red Army is added to it, then

and then we will have organized the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese United Army. Once the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese United Army are established,

the new group, in the course of its daily routine, must cause the new local government and its army to deal constantly with capricious rebels on one hand and to increase the new power on

the other, so that the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese United Army may be made everlasting and become the

Government and the army with full vigour and fortitude and great fighting power. Some districts do not receive the leadership of

the Party because the influence of the Party there is weak, and in others, the Soviet Red Army is unable to participate freely

in the establishment of an anti-Japanese Government and an anti-Japanese United Army due to the fact that these districts are

too remote from the Red Army or the Soviet area. The Party should extend its positive assistance to these districts, which is the concrete policy of the Communist Party with respect to the realization of the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese United Army.

Because of the fact that the National Defense Government and the anti-Japanese United Army are the most general and supreme organizations of the people's united front of the anti-Japanese and anti-traitors movements, they must have most popular general principles of action. These principles are as follows:

1. Anti-Japanese and National Salvation; recovery of lost territories.
2. Confiscate all the property of Japanese imperialism in China and appropriate it to the expenses of anti-Japanese movements.
3. Confiscate all the land and property of traitors and betrayers and distribute them among workers, farmers and poor people.
4. Relief work of sufferers of disasters; river conservation and stabilization of people's lives.
5. Abolish all unreasonable miscellaneous taxes and develop the industry, farming and commerce.
6. Improve the lives of workers, soldiers and teaching staff by the increase of the wages and allowances.
7. Promote education and help uneducated children.



8. Enforce the people's rights and liberate all political criminals.

9. Help the unemployed intellectuals by the improvement of productive techniques.

10. Organize a strong federation with workers, farmers and all other anti-Japanese elements in Korea, Formosa and Japan. Maintain close relations with races or nations which express sympathy to and approval of the national movement of China and approval of the national movement of China and observe bona-fide neutrality.

The Communists must carry out the above principles in the course of their anti-Japanese struggle and must expect to materialize the Party through these principles.

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were

affixed hereto in the presence of this witness.

At the same place,

on the same date.

Witness: /s/ SATO, Tamegoro (seal)

CERTIFICATE OF SOURCE AND AUTHENTICITY

I, the Chief of the Archives Section of the Foreign Office, hereby certify that the document hereto attached, written in Japanese, consisting of 6 pages and entitled "Decision concerning the duty of the Party and the present political situation as soon from the Control Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party (Dec. 25, 1935)" is an exact and authorized excerpt from "the Chronicle of 1935 of the Chinese Communist Party" from P. 713 to P. 721 compiled by the Information Bureau of the Foreign Office collecting the most reliable data from the reports of the Japanese Foreign Office authorities in China in order to keep it in permanent custody and utilize it as a reference document (confidential document).

The data collected was disposed of foregoing text was prepared and is no longer in our custody.

Certified at Tokyo,  
on this 27th day of June, 1947.

/s/ HAYASHI, Kaoru (seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of this witness.

At the same place,  
on the same date.

Witness: /s/ SATO, Takegoro (seal)



*Not used*

中共中央政治局ノ現下ノ政治形勢ト黨ノ任務ニ關スル決議

三、國防政府ト抗日聯合軍（一九三五、一二、二五）

反日反賣國賊的民族統一戰線ノ最モ一般的ナ最モ優レタルモノハ國防政府ト抗日聯合會ノ組織デアル。ソヴェト制度ト土地革命ニハ不同意ダガ反日販賣國賊ニ同意スル分子ハ存在シテキル

政治經濟ノ不一致ニヨツテ地方割據ノ狀態ガ生ジテヨリ、中國ソヴェート政權ハ今日中國ノ一部領土ニ成功ヒルニ通キズ、ソノ他漢奸賣國賊等ノ民族反革命ハ寧ラ日本帝國主義ノ援助ニヨリナサレテキル。コレ等ノ事實ニヨリ國防政府ト抗日聯合軍ノ組織ハ可能デアルノミナラズ、最モ必要ナ學デアル。

中國人民ノ反日反賣國賊方法ハ多様デアル。抗日參加分子ノ自覺程度モ亦同様デハナイ。共產黨員ハ凡ユル機會ヲ利用シテ各種各様ノ鬭爭ヲ發動シ、コレ等ヲ國防政府ト抗日聯合軍ノ域ニ導キ、一切ノ反日、反賣國賊分子ハソノ如何ナル階級ヲ代表スルト、政治派別ノ何タルト、何種ノ社會團體タルト又何種ノ武裝部隊タルトヲ問フコ

トナク國防政府ト抗日聯合軍ニ参加スレバヨイノデアル。國防政府ハ全中國反日反賣國賊聯合戰線ノ政權組織デアリ反日反賣國賊民族革命戰爭ノ統一指導機關デアル。階級意識ヨリ云ヘバ國防政府ハ反賣國賊ヲ共同目標トスル各階級ノ聯盟デアル。

國防政府ト抗日聯合軍ヲ速カニ組織シ、コレヲシテ民族基礎ト武力ヲ擴大發展ヒシメルタメニ、共產黨ノ有スル策略ハ、從來ノ自發的ニ發生シタ抗日國體、抗日武裝隊ニ一任ヒズ進ンデソレヲ組織シ黨員ヲ指揮シ各方面ヨリ、切ノ愛國分子ヲ動員ヒントスルモノデアル。即チ、愛國的口體、階級、黨派、生産業者ト商人、文化人ト教育者、學生ト教職員、新派ト舊派、二種ト小資産階級、ブルジョア、都市ト農村、武裝隊等々ヲ動員シ、反日反奸賣國賊ノ國體ハ抗日會反日聯合會等一ヲ發起シ又各種ノ反日、反賣國賊軍隊ハ抗日義勇軍、人民革命軍新シキ十九路軍等々一政權ハ縣區、市抗日政府、人民革命政府等々一組織シコレ等ノ國體、軍隊政權ヲ合併シ、更ニコレニ



ソヴェート紅軍ノ力ヲ加ヘレバコレコソ國防政府抗日聯合軍ノ組織  
トナルノデアル。國防政府、抗日聯合軍成立後ハソノ行動過程中ニ  
於テ毎日新シキ團體ハ新シキ地方政府及軍政ヲ發動シ、一面動搖背  
叛分子ヲ絶エズ淘汰シ一面ニ於テハ新シキ實力ヲ増大シ國防政府ト  
抗日聯合軍ヲシテ不朽ノモノタラシメ、嚴密訓練ニシテ偉大ナル國  
爭力ヲ有スル政府聯合軍タラシメネバナラヌ。或ル地方ハ黨ノ勢力  
薄弱ナルタメ、黨ノ指導ヲ受クル事ナク或ハ紅軍及ソビエト遠ク離  
道ニ參加スル事ガ出來又、コレ等ノ地方ニ對シテハ黨ハ積極的ニ援  
助ヲ與フベキデアツテ、之ハ國防政府ト抗日聯合軍實現ニ對スル共  
黨ノ具體工作方針デアル。

國防政府ト抗日聯合軍ハ反日反賣國賊ノ一般最高ノ民族統一戰線ノ  
組織デアルガ故ニ最も一般的ナ行動綱領ガ無クテハナラヌ。コノ綱  
領ハ次ノ通りデアル。

- 1、抗日救國、失地收復
  - 2、中國ニ於ケル日本帝國主義ノ全財産ヲ沒收シ抗日經費ニ充當スル
  - 3、一切ノ愛國團體奸ノ土地財産ヲ沒收シ工農及難民ニ分與スル
  - 4、救災、治水、民生ノ安定
  - 5、一切ノ苛捐雜稅ヲ廢除シ工、農、商業ヲ發展ヒシム
  - 6、給料手當ヲ増シ、工人、士兵、救護員ノ生活ヲ改善スル
  - 7、教育ヲ盛ニシ失學兒童ヲ救済スル
  - 8、民權ヲ實現シ一切ノ政治犯ヲ釋放ス
  - 9、生産技術ヲ向上シ、失業ヒル知識分子ヲ救済ス。
  - 10、朝鮮、臺灣、日本國內ノ工農並ニ一切ノ反日勢力ヲ糾合シテ堅固ナル聯盟ヲ結成スル中國ノ民族運動ニ對シテ同情贊助ヲ表示シ善意ノ中立ヲ守ル民族或ハ國家トハ親密ナル關係ヲ作ル
- 共產黨ハ抗日闘争過程ニ於テコレ等ノ綱領ヲ實現シ、且ツコノ綱領



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ヲ通ジテ黨ノ實現ヲ期ヒネバナラヌ。

<p>文書ノ出所竝ニ成立ニ關スル證明書</p> <p>自分ハ外務省文書課長ノ職ニ居ルモノナル處、茲ニ添付セル日本語ニ          二書カレタル六頁ヨリ成ル</p>	<p>中共中央政治局ノ現下ノ政治形勢ト黨ノ任務ニ關スル決議          (一九三五、一二、二五)</p>	<p>十題スル文書ハ日本外務省出先在華官憲ノ報告ニ基キ其ノ最モ確實ナ          ヲ資料ヲ集録シ永久ニ保存スルト共ニ執務參考資料(機密扱)トシテ</p>	<p>外務省情報部ニ於テ印刷シタル「中國共產黨一九三五年史」第七一三          頁ヨリ第七二一頁マデノ正確ナル抜萃ナルコトヲ證明ス</p>	<p>兩シテ右集録シタル資料ハ右原本ノ完成スルヤ之ハ廢棄シテ保存ヒズ          昭和二十二年六月二十七日於東京</p>	<p>左署名捺印ハ自分ノ面前ニ於テナサレタルモノナルコトヲ證明ス          氏名 林 麿</p>	<p>同日於同所          立會人 佐藤 武五郎</p>
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